

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-01 PM-04 L-03 INR-07 SSO-00  
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DRAFTED BY EA:JSARTORIUS/RBOAKLEY:KAM  
APPROVED BY EA:RBOAKLEY

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MANILA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA PRIORITY

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FOR HOLBROOKE IN JAKARTA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, RP

SUBJECT: SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT

1. "UNITED STATES-PHILIPPINES BASE NEGOTIATIONS" STAFF  
REPORT TO SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN  
ASSISTANCE WILL BE RELEASED APRIL 10. WRITTEN BY STAFF  
DIRECTOR MANTEL, REPORT PROVIDES REASONABLY BALANCED IMPRES-  
SIONS AND CONCLUSIONS DERIVED FROM HIS VISIT TO PHILIPPINES  
LAST FALL. EA WAS GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW AND EDIT  
DRAFT FOR FACTUAL CONTENT AND STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO USG  
OFFICIALS. OBVIOUSLY, CONCLUSIONS ARE THOSE OF MANTEL.

2. WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF KISSINGER-ROMULO EXCHANGE IN  
MEXICO CITY, SECTIONS ON ACTUAL BASE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD  
NOT BE CONTROVERSIAL. REPORT OBSERVES THAT IT IS NOT  
CLEAR WHAT HAPPENED WHEN ROMULO ARRIVED IN N.Y. AND DENIED  
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THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED. "WHETHER THE SECRETARY  
THOUGHT HE HAD AGREEMENT WITH ROMULO AND DID NOT, OR  
WHETHER HE DID HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITH ROMULO WHO HAD  
ACTED WITHOUT PRESIDENT MARCOS' APPROVAL IS NOT KNOWN."

3. US-PHILIPPINE RELATIONSHIP IS DESCRIBED AS LOVE-HATE  
ATTITUDE ON PART OF FILIPINOS. GOP IS SAID TO BE TREADING

CAUTIOUSLY BETWEEN "PUBLIC HARD LINE ON ISSUE OF US BASES" PLUS "ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-BIG POWER RHETORIC" AND ITS "PRIVATE SEARCH FOR ASSURANCES REGARDING CONTINUED US COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE TREATY."

4. SECTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS GENERALLY FOLLOWS PREVIOUS STATE DEPT REPORTS ON SUBJECT AND HAS STATE DEPT INFORMING COMMITTEE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS OF TORTURE ALTHOUGH NUMBER APPEARS TO HAVE DECREASED, AND THAT THESE "ARE NOT RESULT OF CONSIDERED EXPLICIT, CONSIDERED POLICY AT POLITICAL LEVEL." "OTHERS DISAGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT." REPORT NOTES ACTIONS ANNOUNCED BY GOP FOLLOWING AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT. STATE DEPT IS SAID TO HAVE INFORMED COMMITTEE THAT GOP DOES NOT ACTIVELY ABRIDGE FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND THAT "THIS ASSERTION SUPPORTED BY MY OWN OBSERVATIONS". CATHOLIC CHURCH SAID TO PLAY "POSITIVE ROLE IN CURBING HUMAN RIGHTS EXCESSES" AND SENIOR CHURCH OFFICIALS SAID TO "AGREE WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT ASSERTION THAT TORTURE IS NOT COUNTENANCED BY THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES" AND THAT GOP HAS NOT ENGAGED IN "CONSISTENT PATTERN OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS". CERTAIN "YOUNG, ACTIVIST MEMBERS OF CLERGY SAID TO DISAGREE.

5. REPORT CONCLUDES THAT: "THE UNITED STATES-PHILIPPINE RELATIONSHIP IS SOMEWHAT STRAINED AT THE PRESENT TIME ALTHOUGH BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR DESIRE FOR A HARMONIOUS RESOLUTION OF ISSUES BETWEEN THEM. THESE TENSIONS, ACCORDING TO MANY OBSERVERS, WERE INEVITABLE. TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SOME OBSERVERS, AN OUTCOME THAT PLACES THE RELATIONSHIP ON A "MATURE" AS CONTRASTED WITH A FATHER-SON BASIS IS BOTH POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE."

"THE UNITED STATES SHOULD REASSESS ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THIS REASSESSMENT MUST ADDRESS NOT ONLY U.S. GLOBAL AND REGIONAL POLITICAL/MILITARY INTERESTS BUT ALSO U.S. BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE AREA, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT BEING THE PHILIPPINES. THE FUTURE OF U.S. BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES MUST BE ANALYZED IN BOTH CONTEXTS."

"THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE MUST ALSO BE ADDRESSED. BECAUSE THE PHILIPPINES WAS "OUR" COLONY, THE TREND OF EVENTS THERE IS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING. HOWEVER, SOME OBSERVERS SAY THAT THE U.S. MUST ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE VALUES AND INSTITUTIONS OF OTHER SOCIETIES ARE DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN EVEN IF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT LIKE IT AND THAT REAL U.S. POLITICAL/MILITARY INTERESTS SHOULD NOT BE SUBORDINA-

TED TO MORAL CONCERNS ABOUT THE INTERNAL PROCESSES OF FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS. WHETHER THESE TWO CONCERNS ARE MUTUALLY INCONSISTENT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. IN GENERAL, OVERALL U.S. INTERESTS WILL REQUIRE POLICIES TO PROMOTE BOTH OBJECTIVES AND MAINTAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH AN ALLY."

6. ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE IS AWARE OF REPORT. IF QUERIED DEPT WILL MAKE MINIMAL COMMENT, WITH OBSERVATION THAT IT IS PRODUCT OF SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE. ALTHOUGH CLOSED FOR LONG EASTER WEEKEND, WE WILL TRY TO GET COPY TO PHILIPPINE EMBASSY BEFORE RELEASE. WILL POUCH COPY TO EMBASSY SOONEST.

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## Message Attributes

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